

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 DAKAR 0326

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E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PGOV, US, XA
SUBJECT: NEW POLICY INITIATIVES IN AFRICA

REF: 77 STATE 311031

1. SUMMARY: "PSYCHOLOGICAL STRATEGY" OF STEPPED-UP ATTENTION TO AFRICAN MODERATES IS SALUTARY INITIATIVE. U.S. PROGRAMS IN SENEGAL ARE ALREADY SUBSTANTIAL, BUT WHAT IS NEEDED IS PATTERN OF SYMBOLIC GESTURES TO OFFSET PERCEPTION OF AMERICAN DISINTEREST WHICH LEADERS LIKE SENGHOR HAVE FORMED IN WAKE OF ANGOLA, SHABA AND RECENT U.S. INITIATIVES TOWARD NIGERIA AND "PROGRESSIVE" STATES. SPECIFIC ELEMENTS OF THIS STRATEGY COULD INCLUDE DISCUSSING OUR NEW POLICY CANDIDLY WITH AFRICAN HEADS OF STATE CONCERNED, FOLLOWING-UP DURING DEPUTY SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER'S TRIP, ADDING MODERATE FRANCOPHONE CAPITAL TO PRESIDENT CARTER'S ITINERARY, INCREASING PRESIDENT-TO-PRESIDENT CORRESPONDENCE, AGREEING TO FINANCE SAHEL INFRASTRUCTURE PROJECTS, AND ARRANGING U.S. TOURS FOR SENIOR MILITARY COMMANDERS IN CEA0 PACT. END SUMMARY.

2. FROM THE DAKAR VANTAGE POINT, THE PROPOSED POLICY OF STEPPED-UP ATTENTION TO KEY AFRICAN MODERATES REPRESENTS
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A SALUTARY INITIATIVE, AND ONE WHICH RESPONDS DIRECTLY TO SENEGALESE REPRESENTATIONS WHICH HAVE LOOMED LARGE IN THIS MISSION'S RECENT REPORTING. THE DRAFT MEMORANDUM IS RIGHT ON THE MARK IN IDENTIFYING THIS AS A "PSYCHOLOGICAL STRATEGY." WHAT IS AT STAKE IS MORE TONE THAN SUBSTANCE, MORE AN EXERCISE IN THE CARE AND FEEDING OF CERTAIN EGOS AND MIND-SETS THAN ANY SIGNIFICANT

REALLOCATION OF AMERICAN RESOURCES ON THE AFRICAN
CONTINENT.

3. THE FACT IS THAT, WHILE ALLEGEDLY IGNORING SENEGAL DURING THE PAST YEAR, WE HAVE SIGNED AN \$8 MILLION FMS AGREEMENT, INITIATED ROUGHLY \$12 MILLION IN NEW AID PROJECTS AND PL 480 ASSISTANCE, EXPANDED OUR SELF-HELP PROGRAM TO THE \$100,000 A YEAR LEVEL, SINGLED OUT SENEGAL AMONG THE TARGETS FOR A HIGH-LEVEL DIALOGUE ON SUCH ISSUES AS LAW OF THE SEA AND THE ILO, WELCOMED WEEKLY CHARTERED JUMBO JETS PACKED WITH AMERICAN TOURISTS, AND DEDICATED THE BEST SITUATED AND MOST ATTRACTIVE CHANCERY IN DAKAR. 77 DAKAR 7806 REPORTED THE EMBASSY'S VIEW THAT THE LEVEL OF U.S. PROGRAMS IN SENEGAL IS RUNNING AT ABOUT THE RIGHT LEVEL TO SUPPORT A CLEARLY VISIBLE BUT STILL MODEST U.S. PROFILE IN COUNTRY WHERE IT IS IN OUR INTEREST THAT THE FRENCH CONTINUE TO PLAY THEIR PRESENT PREDOMINANT ROLE.

4. SENEGALESE CONCERN OVER U.S. INTENTIONS TOWARD AFRICA AROSE FROM THE PERCEPTION THAT WE HAD NOT BEEN PREPARED TO ASSIST MODERATES EFFECTIVELY IN ANGOLA OR ZAIRE, WERE ACTIVELY COURTING MORE RADICAL REGIMES, AND WERE ENCOURAGING UNJUSTIFIED NIGERIAN PRETENSIONS TO SPEAK FOR THE CONTINENT, WHILE FAILING ALL THE WHILE TO CONSULT CLOSELY WITH FRANCOPHONE MODERATES. TO COMPOUND THE PROBLEM, THE CLOSING PERIOD OF THE FORD
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ADMINISTRATION HAPPENED TO COINCIDE WITH AN UNPRECEDENTED ROUND OF HIGH-LEVEL U.S. -SENEGAL CONSULTATIONS BEGINNING WITH SENGHOR'S MAY 1975 MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT AND MOVING THROUGH MULTIPLE DAKAR VISITS BY KISSINGER, SCRANTON, SCHAUFELLE, PARKER, NUMEROUS IMPORTANT CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATIONS AND OTHER SENIOR EXECUTIVE BRANCH OFFICIALS. THE FREQUENT EXCHANGE OF CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE FORMER SECRETARY OF STATE AND SENGHOR WHICH TOOK PLACE AFTER THEIR DAKAR MEETING ALSO LEFT A DEEP IMPRESSION ON THE SENEGALESE PRESIDENT. THE PAST YEAR, BY CONTRAST, HAS SEEN A COMPARATIVE ABSENCE OF BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS AT THIS LEVEL, WHILE SENGHOR HAS WATCHED AMERICAN REPRESENTATIVES SCHEDULING REPEATED VISITS TO LAGOS AND OTHER DISTANT AFRICAN CAPITALS TO WHICH HE DOES NOT HAVE ESPECIALLY CLOSE TIES.

5. WE NEED TO FIND SYMBOLIC WAYS OF DEMONSTRATING THAT THE U.S. HAS NOT MADE AN ABRUPT POLICY SHIFT AWAY FROM OUR PREVIOUS CLOSE ATTENTION TO THE SO-CALLED MODERATES. IN VIEW OF THE COHESIVENESS AND CLOSE IDENTITY OF VIEWS SHARED BY THE WEST AFRICAN FRANCOPHONE MODERATES, IT

IS ENTIRELY APPROPRIATE THAT WE THINK OF THEM AS A GROUP IN FINDING WAYS TO OFFSET THE IMPRESSION OF A DECISIVE TILT TOWARD NIGERIA AND "PROGRESSIVE" STATES. THIS IS, A U.S. GESTURE TOWARD SENEGAL, CAMEROON, IVORY COAST, GABON, NIGER OR UPPER VOLTA, FOR EXAMPLE, WILL BE, TO SOME EXTENT, OBSERVED AND APPRECIATED BY THE OTHER STATES SHARING ROUGHLY SIMILAR POLITICAL PERSPECTIVES AND ECONOMIC SYSTEMS.

6. IN TERMS OF SPECIFIC INITIATIVES, WE AGREE THAT IT WOULD BE HIGHLY EFFECTIVE TO LAUNCH THIS STRATEGY BY INSTRUCTING AMBASSADORS IN THE COUNTRIES INVOLVED TO CALL ON THEIR CHIEFS OF STATE, AND SAY THAT, IN RESPONSE TO THEIR EXPRESSIONS OF CONCERN, WE HAVE RESOLVED AS A CONFIDENTIAL

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MATTER OF CONSCIOUS U.S. POLICY TO WORK MORE CLOSELY WITH THEM, AND ASK THEIR ADVICE ABOUT HOW WE PROCEED. THE PLANNED VISIT BY DEPUTY SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER WILL PROVIDE AN IDEAL OPPORTUNITY TO DRAMATIZE OUR INTENTION OF PAYING MORE ATTENTION TO THE AFRICAN MODERATES. BUT WE WOULD GO A STEP FURTHER. WE WOULD SUGGEST THAT SERIOUS CONSIDERATION BE GIVEN TO INCLUDING IN PRESIDENT CARTER'S SPRING VISIT TO NIGERIA A STOP IN A MODERATE FRANCOPHONE WEST AFRICAN CAPITAL. THAT WOULD DO MORE TO GIVE THE LIE TO PRESENT MODERATE GROUSING ABOUT INATTENTION THAN ANY OTHER SINGLE ACT.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 DAKAR 0326

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7. WE AGREE WITH BANGUI (BANGUI 0024) THAT, IF OUR NEW POLICY IS TO BE RECOGNIZED BY THOSE IT IS INTENDED TO IMPRESS, WE SHOULD CONCENTRATE IN THE FUTURE ON INCREASING CORRESPONDENCE ON A PRESIDENT-TO-PRESIDENT BASIS. SENHOR, FOR EXAMPLE, HAS GOOD CONTACTS AND CONSIDERED VIEWS ON A HOST OF WORLD PROBLEMS, AMONG THEM THE MIDDLE EAST, ANGOLA, THE HORN, THE WESTERN SAHARA, SOVIET/CUBAN INTENTIONS IN AFRICA AND THE NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE. WHILE IT IS ALL VERY GOOD FOR ME TO SEEK OUT HIS VIEWS ON THESE SUBJECTS, WE COULD EARN IMMENSE GOODWILL SIMPLY BY SENDING HIM AN OCCASIONAL LETTER SIGNED BY PRESIDENT CARTER SETTING FORTH OUR CURRENT THINKING ON ONE OF THESE ISSUES AND SOLICITING HIS ADVICE. IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE FOR THE U.S. BUREAUCRACY TO PRODUCE SUCH DOCUMENTS WITHOUT IMPOSING A MAJOR NEW BURDEN ON EITHER THE WHITE HOUSE OR THE NSC IF THEY COULD BE PERSUADED TO ACCEPT THE PRINCIPLE OF WHAT WE ARE TRYING TO DO.

8. AMBASSADOR RICHARDSON'S RECENT PERSONAL MESSAGE (STATE 2124) TO CHAIRMAN CISSE OF SENEGAL'S LOS DELEGATION IS ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF THE KIND OF GESTURES WHICH ARE NOTED AND APPRECIATED HERE. THE EMBASSY WAS GRITIFIED BY THE DEPARTMENT'S RAPID ACTION IN RESPONSE TO OUR COMMENTS ON CISSE'S AND SENEGAL'S LOS PERSPECTIVES
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CONTAINED IN 77 DAKAR 8404.

9. A MAJOR RECOMMENDATION IN NEXT MONTH'S POLICY AND OBJECTIVES ASSISSMENT FROM THIS EMBASSY WILL CALL FOR AN INTER-AGENCY REVIEW OF OUR AID POSTURE IN THE SAHEL. OUR CONCLUSION IS THAT THE USG'S DETERMINATION TO ABSTAIN FROM ALL INFRASTRUCTURE FINANCING WILL HAVE THE EFFECT OF INSURING THAT THE SAHEL NEVER GETS OFF THE INTERNATIONAL DOLE. WHAT THE REGION NEEDS IS ASSURED WATER SUPPLIES THAT ARE NOT SUBJECT TO THE VAGARIES OF WEATHER. AN THIS CAN BE ACHIEVED ONLY THROUGH RIVER VALLEY DEVELOPMENT. OUR CURRENT WORK IN HELPING TO IMPROVE RAINFED AGRICULTURE, IN ALLEVIATING FOOD SHORTAGES, AND IN AUGMENTING HEALTH DELIVERY SERVICES IS VISIBLE AND APPRECIATED. BUT IN OUR NOTICEABLE ABSENCE FROM EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE A LONGTERM SOLUTION, WE RISK MOVING TOWARD A BACKSEAT POSITION THAT IS NOT JUSTIFIED BY OUR ACTUAL AID LEVELS. THE IBRD APPEARS TO BE REVISING ITS POSITION ON THIS ISSUE, AND WE BELIEVE WASHINGTON SHOULD AT LEAST REVIEW OUR POSTURE AT THIS TIME.

10. WE AGREE WITH THE DRAFT MEMORANDUM'S EMPHASIS ON THE SECURITY CONCERNS OF THE MODERATES. WE CANNOT UNDERSTATE THE FEAR THESE GOVERNMENTS EXPERIENCE WHEN THEY SEE CUBANS PROLIFERATING THROUGHOUT THE CONTINENT. IN THE FRANCOPHONE COUNTRIES, THERE IS THE ADDED APPREHENSION THAT COMES FROM THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE LEFT MAY WIN THE MARCH LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS IN FRANCE. WHAT HAPPENS TO THE CFTDW#SECURITY UMBRELLA IF MITTERRAND BECOMES PRIME MINISTER? THAT IS ONE REASON THE EMBASSY WOULD LIKE SENEGAL'S ARMED FORCES CHIEF TO BE INVITED TO VISIT THE US AS PER 77 DAKAR 7610 AND 7806. WITH
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SENEGAL A PRIMARY MOVING FORCE BEHIND THE CEAO NON-AGGRESSION AND MUTUAL ASSISTANCE PACT, SUCH AN INVITATION WOULD CARRY SUBSTANTIAL SYMBOLIC BAGGAGE WITHOUT NECESSITATING UNDESIRABLE MATERIAL COMMITMENTS. ORIENTATION FOR PERSONNEL OF THE CIAO DEFENSE ORGANIZATION (SUCH AS SENEGALESE SECRETARY GENERAL TAVARES), AS PROPOSED REFTEL, IS ALSO HIGHLY DESIRABLE. A GOOD PROJECT FOR EARLY FY-1979 WOULD BE A GROUP VIP TOUR OF US MILITARY INSTALLATIONS BY FOUR OR FIVE OF THE CEAO PACT'S TOP MILITARY COMMANDERS. FURTHER, WE COULD IDENTIFY WITH THE MODERATES' SECURITY CONCERNS BY APPROVING SPACES FOR SENEGALESE PILOTS IN THE SMALL IMET PROFESSIONAL PROGRAM WE ARE PRESENTLY CONDUCTING. IF WE REALLY EXPECT AFRICANS TO RESOLVE THEIR OWN PROBLEMS, WE MUST REMAIN READY TO HELP ENSURE THAT THE MODERATES HAVE ENOUGH SELF-CONFIDENCE AND COMPETENCE TO INFLUENCE EFFECTIVELY THE RESOLUTION OF THOSE DISPUTES.

1. WE CAN EXPECT TO OBTAIN HIGH MILEAGE FROM GESTURES OF THIS KIND AND ADOPTION OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS PROPOSED BY REFTEL. WITH THE PROSPECT IN THE NEXT FEW MONTHS OF A PLANNED THREE-SHIP U.S. NAVAL VISIT TO WEST AFRICA, THE FAA'S ELABORATE DAKAR (AND NAIROBI) DEMONSTRATIONS OF THE U.S.-DEVELOPED MICROWAVE LANDING SYSTEM, THE CLOSE LOS CONSULTATIONS WE ENVISAGE WITH SENEGAL AS CHAIRMAN OF THE GROUP OF 77, THE IMPRESSIVE AMERICAN EXHIBIT ON SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY PLANNED FOR THIS YEAR'S DAKAR TRADE FAIR, PRESIDENT SENGHOR'S U.S. VISIT AND OUR AMBITIOUS ONGOING ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE, DEFENSE COOPERATION, CULTURAL EXCHANGE, AND PEACE CORPS PROGRAMS, A LITTLE HIGH-LEVEL ATMOSPHERICS SHOULD ALLOW US TO LAY THOROUGHLY TO REST THE RECENTLY VOICED SUSPICIONS OF U.S. DISINTEREST.
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